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industry to the other; and this will compel it to cater more and more to foreign markets, and to tie itself more and more firmly, whether through annexation of territory or not, to every part of the world, civilized and uncivilized.

In the forties this country was a great carrier and a considerable trader; but the things which it carried away were crude products. That type of commerce is necessarily limited in its operations and scope. It was facilitated by the fact that we were shipbuilders, having in our forests the proper material for making ships, and in our population the proper ingenuity to make ships that would sail rapidly and command high rates for freight. We lost that position in the carrying trade when ships came to be made of iron and steel, for we were then under some disadvantages in the building of iron and steel ships. But we are regaining it, or are about to do so; for the United States is the natural home of the steel industry and of the ship-building industry for the world as a whole. I ask you to wait, not one year nor five, but a little longer, and see whether you do not observe tendencies which verify that statement. We shall be a manufacturing and commercial people, binding ourselves more intimately to every country in the civilized world. We shall multiply these solidarities, we shall do much to develop a world-state, we shall make ten-fold more difficult the breaking of ties between nations and ten-fold more unpopular the proposition to go to war.

In the end moral forces will do greater things than that which I have said they cannot now do, by reason of a lack of opportunity. Picture to yourself a perfect citizen and put him in a perfect state, and you have what moral forces alone will produce ultimately. But out of much more imperfect material will be developed a state in which war at least will be suppressed, though lesser evils will continue.

The Outlook for Arbitration.

BY REV. GEORGE E. HERR, D.D.

Editor of *The Watchman*.

Mr. President,—The best tendencies of our time are altogether in line with the cause for which we have been thinking and planning. Professor Clark, in his admirably clear and just statement, has shown us that a sound sociology and a just industrial system work against war. Who doubts that the best political thought of our time also is moving in the same direction? What a significant testimony it was that the treaty for arbitration with England should have commanded an absolute majority in the United States Senate, and that it only failed by three or four votes of gaining the necessary two-thirds majority, and that, as Mr. Mead showed last year, those who represented the most cultivated and intelligent and progressive communities voted for that treaty. Who doubts to-day that the influence of Christianity is mightily in favor of this movement? For there is nothing that comes in a human heart or life that makes it so large and generous, so world-embracing in its interests, as Christian faith.

Contrast with that disposition the spirit of war. To my mind, the worst thing about war is not its waste of treasure, it is not its carnage, is not the fearful and bloody scenes that we associate with it. The most ter-

rific effect of war is upon the hearts and consciences of the people who engage in it. Think of seventy millions of people inspired with a spirit of hate, of revenge, of desire of destruction! That is the fearful thing about war. We contrast it with the temper of the gospel and who of us can doubt that the spirit of love and fellowship and service is to triumph over that of revenge and hate? As much as we believe in Christianity itself, we believe that we are upon the verge of the time when wars shall cease.

Not only is this the temper of our own people, but it is the temper of the leading men in foreign nations. I undertake to say that if President McKinley, if Lord Salisbury, if the chancellors of Russia and Germany, if M. Hanotaux, if Signor Crispi and Senor Sagasta, had been in this Conference during the last three days, they would have heard very little with which they would disagree. They would tell us that they believe that armies and navies must be maintained as an international police, but that they need not be maintained for the assertion of claims and rights against other nations, and certainly not for aggression. Look at what has happened in the last three great wars; the Russo-Turkish war resulted in a victory for Russia, but the powers stepped in and tore up the treaty of San Stefano and the result of that war was decided by the diplomatists of Europe and not by arms. It seemed that the China-Japan war was ended by the treaty of Shimonoseki; but France and Germany and Russia stepped in and the result of that conflict also was determined by negotiation and diplomacy. The war between Greece and Turkey has just closed, and within the last few days the powers have decided what shall be its result, and Thessaly is to be restored to Greece.

Some things have been said in this Conference against the Concert of Europe, with which one cannot entirely agree. The Concert of Europe did, indeed, fail to intervene in behalf of the Armenians; but we forget the immense benefits which have resulted from the concert of the powers. For the last five years it has held the armies of Europe by the throat, preventing them from flying at one another. One of the best tokens of international peace, the best augury of international arbitration, is the fact that the powers of Europe could agree in that concert, uniting upon the basis not of their differences, but of their agreements.

The pessimist has the advantage of seeming to be profound; the optimist is usually characterized as superficial. There are a great many facts that can be adduced against such an optimistic view as has been presented; but the multiplicity of facts does not necessarily increase their significance. A single patch of blue sky may be more significant than the uncounted cloud-banks; a single note of a robin may be more significant than the silences of the forest; a single twig of pussy-willow growing by the margin of a swamp may be more significant than the frozen earth. I believe that when we select the really significant facts in modern life they point toward a mighty onward advance of the movement for which we stand. It will come to its fruition as the spring comes. Did you not notice this year how we seemed in a single week to pass out of the chill and gloomy and forbidding features of winter into the warmth and sunlight and verdure of the spring. It may be that this movement which we represent is already trembling upon the verge of a mighty and blessed change like that.